Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand

Antipodean Dharma

Introduction

In 2002 a group of Tibetan monks created a sand mandala in the Aotea Centre, a performing arts and events centre in Auckland, New Zealand. The final occasion in the event was, as usual, a dissolution ceremony, in which the elaborate, colourful sand patterns are swept up and then taken to a nearby body of water, where they are ceremonially tipped into the water as a blessing. Before the dissolution began, however, various speeches were given. Among the speakers was a man of Maori ancestry, who addressed the monks in the Maori language, following traditional speech-making protocols. It is now a conventional part of public welcoming ceremonies for various dignitaries visiting Australia and New Zealand to include speeches from indigenous representatives. Indeed, when the Dalai Lama visited the site where the Great Stupa of Universal Compassion is being built near Bendigo in Victoria, Australia, he received what was referred to as a traditional Aboriginal smoking ceremony before he went onto the stage to address the waiting audience. Once on the stage, a local Aboriginal elder was among those who gave welcome speeches.[1] These two occasions show how indigenous issues in Australia and New Zealand are beginning to affect how Buddhism is practised here. What was noteworthy at the Aotea Centre was that the speaker, on this occasion, was also a practising Buddhist. Before and after his speech, he performed three full prostrations toward the Buddhas on the altar, laying himself out face down on the ground in the typically Tibetan Buddhist gesture of homage.[2]

Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand bears many similarities to other Western countries, and indeed to each other. This article identifies these and also celebrates their differences. The chapter begins with details of the historical development of Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand and subsequent increase in the Buddhist population. This includes examination of how understanding of the growth and present status of Buddhism in these countries has changed as scholarly approaches in the field have developed. The chapter then examines significant events and organizations in these countries, particularly of recent times, alongside lesser known happenings that illustrate Buddhism in action in these countries. Key areas for examination include the effects of engaged Buddhism, the influence of Buddhist material culture, and links with indigenous spirituality.

Historical beginnings

The history of Australia and New Zealand has some similarities due to the historical, cultural and geographic proximities of these two nations. However, historical coverage of the development of Buddhism in both countries is limited. Croucher provides the seminal work on the history of Buddhism in Australia, providing in-depth coverage of the period from 1848 to 1988.[3] In 2000, Spuler's study utilized this research and other minor works to identify six key historical periods:

1) In 1848 Chinese immigrants first brought Buddhism to Australia, and this continued with other ethnic groups in the mid-late 1800s.
2) The beginning of the first organizations in 1925.
3) The first visits by teachers commencing in 1952.
4) 1971 saw the arrival of the first residential teachers and the establishment of monasteries.
5) Rapid Asian immigration and increasing diversification of Buddhist traditions present in Australia was characteristic of this period, caused by factors such as the end of the Vietnam War in 1974-5.
6) This period saw the emergence of ecumenical Buddhist societies beginning with the Buddhist Council of Brisbane in 1982.[4]

In contrast, Kemp's analysis of the history of Buddhism in New Zealand identifies the 1970s as a defining decade. [5] In the period before the 1970s he notes three key features of the history of Buddhism in New Zealand: a Maori legend that suggests the possibility of Tibetan ancestry, the influence of the Chinese gold miners of the nineteenth century, and the role of the Theosophical Society in disseminating Buddhism. Kemp's analysis of the period from the 1970s onwards then delineates the development of significant institutional presence.[6] As in Australia, changes to immigration laws also had significant effect. In 1987 the Immigration Act changed immigration policies to include more Asian immigrants and to accept refugees, resulting in arrivals from Cambodia, Vietnam, Taiwan, China, Thailand and Sri Lanka, and Hong Kong.[7] These immigrants established their own communities in New Zealand, including Buddhist temples and monks.

By 2006, Buddhism was the religion of choice of 1-2% of the population in both countries, as illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: Demographics of Australian and New Zealand Buddhists in 1996, 2001 and 2006

	1996	***2001***	***2006***
Australia:			
Percentage of population	*1.1 %*	*1.9 %*	*2.1%*
Numbers of adherents	*199,812*	*357,813*	*418,749*
New Zealand:			
Percentage of population	*0.8*	*1*	*1.3*
Numbers of adherents	*28,131*	*41,469*	*52,392*

It is helpful to understand the broader religious context in which Buddhism has flourished in Australia and New Zealand. Generally speaking, both countries have a Christian majority but lean toward the secular in public discourse. In 2006, the New Zealand census reported that 55.6% of the population was Christian, while 37.7% of respondents categorized themselves as having "no religion". In the Australian census in 2006, 64% of the population identified as Christian, and 19% as having no religion. As a minority

religion in both countries, Buddhism faces a range of challenges, but has also achieved many successes.

The ongoing growth of Buddhism in each country is significant, reflecting both the effects of immigration of Buddhists from Asian countries, and conversion to Buddhism. In both Australia and New Zealand the majority of Buddhists are of Asian origin: 75% of the New Zealand Buddhist population[8] and nearly 60% of the Australian population were born in Asian countries that are predominantly Buddhist[9]. Many of these engage with a Buddhist temple not only for religious reasons, but also to maintain language and cultural identity. In New Zealand, the remaining 25% included Buddhists of European descent, a minority within a minority. Kemp calculated that in the 2006 census, the number of Buddhists (52,365) had increased by 27.4% since the previous (2001) census, although the number of Buddhists with a "European ethnicity" declined by 1.25% in the same period.[10] However, census statistics cannot show how influential the "modernist" Buddhism to which this minority subscribes has become in the West, especially among the progressive, tertiary-educated, and often very secular middle classes. Scholars have long wrestled with the use of appropriate terminology to define the different Buddhist groupings, and researchers studying Buddhism in Australian and New Zealand commonly engage with this debate. Kemp uses the terms, "Asian immigrants" and "New Zealand converts", as a starting point for discussion, although acknowledging limitations. Barker and Rocha's recent edited volume on Buddhism and Australia chooses to refer to Anglo and Asian Buddhist Australians, after a discussion on the binary opposition between tradition and modernity, and West and East[11].

The landscape of contemporary antipodean Buddhism

The ways in which Buddhism has developed in Australian and New Zealand reflect localization processes in response to the socio-cultural contexts in which they are located, and also the international flow of Buddhist ideas and teachers throughout the world. Barker and Rocha emphasize the diversity of Buddhism in Australia, noting that Australian Buddhism developed in response to "an intense circulation of ideas, teachers, nun and monks between Asia and the West, in addition to circulation of those within Western countries"[12]. Global flows of Buddhist teachers and ideas throughout the world have meant that a distinctive Australian Buddhism is hard to find. Kemp concludes similarly, that "the movements of people and the accessibility of electronic media will mitigate against any total exclusive cultural expression of a New Zealand Buddhism."[13]

A wide variety of Buddhist lineages are now present in Australia and New Zealand. Most traditions are represented by both major temples and senior teachers, of either local or international origin. Kemp notes that some Buddhist teachers came with an explicitly missionary agenda, resulting in the growth of export Buddhism through active proselytizing.[14] The Fokuangshan is a Taiwanese Buddhist organisation with a very large international presence. They are known for building spectacularly large Chinese-style temples; one of their Tang Dynasty-style temples dominates a low hill in the suburb of Flat Bush in South Auckland, New Zealand; an even larger temple stands on a hillside near Wollongong in New South Wales, Australia. One of the reasons Fokuangshan and

other groups build such noteworthy structures is to do "contact work"; that is, to attract interest.[15] Soka Gakkai is also known for its active proselytizing.

A similar analysis to Kemp's could be applied to the Australian situation. Wat Pa Buddharangsee Buddhist Forest Monastery, part of the Mahamakut Foundation, provides an example of export Buddhism. The Mahamakut Foundation, founded in Thailand in 1893, has grown in Thailand to comprise of Mahamakut University and over 3000 temples and monasteries with more than 30,000. There are over 70 centres world-wide, including nine in Australia and two in New Zealand. Through Mahamakut University, the Mahamakut Foundation trains approximately one hundred monks each year as missionaries. The Chief Abbot, Phra Rajsilaporn (Chao Khun Samai) was born in Laos in 1943. He was ordained as novice in Thailand in 1957, was ordained in 1963 and graduated from Mahamakut University in 1972. After taking a one year course of training for missionary work, he was sent to Sydney with a senior monk in 1974.

Kemp argues that Buddhism has also developed in New Zealand as a result of importation, particularly by New Zealanders encountering Buddhism whilst travelling overseas.[16] Most Buddhism in New Zealand, whether for the convert, immigrant or multi-ethnic communities, can be classed as "imported" to a lesser or greater extent.[17]

As Census figures indicate, the Buddhism of immigrants from Buddhist countries has a far greater presence than that of converts, mostly in the main cities but also in some of the smaller regional cities. For example, the Sammapatipada monastery in the regional city of Napier serves the Southeast Asian community (mainly Thai) on the east coast of New Zealand's North Island, and Pu Shien temple in metropolitan Auckland is one of several that serves the city's Chinese-language communities. Most immigrant groups import monks and/or nuns for spiritual leadership (monks in the case of Sammapatipada and Theravadin temples; the Fokuangshan and Pu Shien temples, both in Auckland, are led by nuns). As is the case in other countries with significant immigrant Buddhist populations, such groups tend to be based on cultural and linguistic affiliation, so that in a temple where the services and teachings are in Vietnamese, the congregation is mostly Vietnamese, and so forth.

For refugees and immigrants, the temple provides a vital focal point for nurturing the community, providing a connection with a cultural identity that, in the context of a non-Buddhist host society, is endangered. The Cambodian/Khmer community in New Zealand has been the subject of a recent doctoral thesis by Liev. Liev found that religious practice was one of the "main driving forces for asserting Khmer community identity. […] Khmer Theravada Buddhism has emerged as a means by which the majority of Cambodians can achieve their spiritual wellbeing, and has become a platform for various community identity developments within the New Zealand social and legal contexts."[18] The first Cambodian refugees brought a monk to New Zealand within two years of settling, because, Liev observes, "they needed to be in touch with the spirits of their relatives and to make merit, without which the wellbeing of Cambodians is vulnerable."[19] Liev concludes that the Khmer temple "is not just an education centre, but also a sociocultural centre that provides a holistic approach to the well-being of Cambodians

and their cultural maintenance. As a result, the temple becomes the cradle for the development of Khmer identity"[20], although factions become apparent once people begin investing time and resources in establishing temples.

Vasi reaches similar conclusions in her study of Cambodian immigrants in Australia. Vasi's study of the role of Cambodian Buddhist temples in the provision of Buddhist welfare service in the state of Victoria suggests that temples should be supported to provide a stronger role in supporting communities more formally.[21] These examples also illustrate some of the challenges that Buddhism faces. Barker and Rocha situate their analysis of Buddhism in Australia within the historical context of Australia's relationship with Asia, highlighting the resulting power inequalities between Anglo and Asian Buddhist Australians.[22] McAra, Skennar and Waitt all provide examples of the difficulties Asian Buddhists have had in gaining approval for the building of places of worship.[23]

Studies of immigrant Buddhists support the generalisation that, in terms of how they practice Buddhism, immigrant groups are more likely to be traditionalist in outlook (according to Baumann's 2002 definition) in that they are concerned in part with maintaining ethnic and cultural traditions in their host country, as with the Cambodians discussed above. However immigrant groups may not always be traditionalist and in fact many have modernist and reformist tendencies, while groups dominated by Western converts vary in the extent to which they engage in what Baumann refers to as "modernist" Buddhism.[24] The globalised Tibetan Buddhist movements include what Baumann calls "traditionalist" elements in their practices, such as merit-making and devotion, but these groups attract urbanised modern audiences and exhibit some characteristically modernist approaches.[25] The Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT), part of the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism, is among the more traditionalist of such organisations in the extent to which its teachers emphasise merit-making, but its primary audience is urban middle-class, with European or Chinese ancestry, and typically tertiary-educated, and professional.[26]

In New Zealand, a well-known example of engaged Buddhism is the Amitabha Hospice. It was founded in 1995 by Ecie Hursthouse, a student of Lama Yeshe (the late founder of the FPMT in Auckland, and part of the FPMT, which trains hospice workers to help the terminally ill and their families with such things as at-home respite care. Tzu Chi, the Taiwanese-based Buddhist international aid organisation, also has Australian and New Zealand chapters. Other examples happen beneath the radar. For instance, a monk from Wat Yarnprateep, a Thai temple in the Auckland suburb of Kelston, told McAra in 2010 that he had taught mindfulness meditation at the local secondary school, as part of a program to address the problem of bullying.

One example of import Buddhism by converts is the Dhargyey Buddhist Centre, in the city of Dunedin, established in the mid-1980s by people who had encountered Tibetan Buddhism overseas.[27] They brought the eminent Tibetan lama named Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey from Dharamsala to teach in Dunedin. After his death in 1995, the group cremated his body and constructed a Tibetan-style stupa on a member's land near

Dunedin, to commemorate him and house his relics. This Dunedin-based centre now has two affiliated centres elsewhere in New Zealand. Another more common example of import Buddhism is when people establish Buddhist groups that are affiliated to an already-established centre or organisation in another western country. For instance, the Dorje Chang Institute, established in 1976, is part of the FPMT (founded in 1975), which brought a *geshe* (Tibetan scholar-monk) from a monastery in India to teach its members.

Numerous smaller groups, consisting mostly of converts, continue to be established around the country, associated with international organisations that comprise a small group of people who meet on a regular basis, often in rented premises or a private home, often without an experienced teacher, although sometimes a more experienced student offers guidance. Some of these are too small to have their own websites; one example is Auckland's Long White Cloud Sangha, a small group taking inspiration from Thich Nhat Hanh. Its members meet to meditate on cushions on the floor of an Anglican church, and since they do not have a locally-based teacher, share group organisation and leadership among their longer-term members. Thich Thong Phap's role as the volunteer Buddhist chaplain at Flinders University, South Australia, is another interesting example of the range of Buddhist-based groupings that are coming into existence.

Some convert groups do not fit the "import" category so neatly, for instance when a group is founded by a New Zealander who trained overseas. The Auckland Zen Centre was founded by Amala-Sensei, a *pakeha* who trained for over a decade at the Rochester Zen Centre (established in 1966) in the USA. Teacher lineages are also becoming more eclectic, Australian insight meditation teacher, Patrick Kearney, continues to train in the Diamond Sangha Zen tradition, and Yasala Bhante, a Korean nun who has a centre in Northland, New Zealand, is unusual in that she is trained in Theravada Buddhism as well as Korean Zen. In Australia there are also a growing number of Buddhist organizations that do not maintain formal affiliation with parent groups. Bubna-Litic and Higgins provide a study of the secularisation of insight (vipassana) meditation in Sydney,[28] and Santi Forest Monastery is another interesting example. Bhante Sujato established Santi Forest Monastery in the Southern Highlands of New South Wales in 2003. Bhante Sujato was born in 1966 in Perth, Western Australia. During a holiday to Thailand he took novice ordination at Wat Nanachat, then full ordination as a bhikkhu in 1994. After studying with London-born Ajahn Brahm at Bodhinyana Monastery in Perth, he founded Santi Forest Monastery. The monastery "is created in the spirit of the Buddhist Forest Tradition"[29], but has no formal institutional affiliations. Santi is an advocate of full ordination for women in Buddhism, and provides ordination for women as a bhikkhuni.

An interesting feature of Buddhism in both Australia and New Zealand is the growth of multi-ethnic Buddhist congregations. These groups, too, mostly import their teachers; but the teachers do not necessarily come from ethnically Asian origins. For instance, the Auckland-based Theravada Buddhist Association and its associated Vimutti monastery in nearby Bombay hills, serves a diverse range of people, including a number of Pakeha Buddhists, as well as immigrants from Theravadin countries (such as Sri Lanka and Thailand). The main teacher for the Auckland Theravada Buddhist Association, Ajahn

Chandako, is an "imported" white American monk who trained in the Thai Forest Sangha tradition in Thailand. Soka Gakkai's New Zealand chapter is also known for its multi-ethnic congregation. Tibetan Buddhism, which commonly appeals to people of European ancestry, also appeals to some people with Chinese ancestry (including Malaysian, Singaporean and Taiwanese): for instance, the Dorje Chang Institute in Auckland has many Chinese members and the Kadampa Buddhist Society in South Auckland (not to be mistaken for the controversial New Kadampa Tradition) is mainly attended by Chinese.[30]

Although it is difficult in New Zealand, where each Buddhist group has a fairly small membership, some groups attempt to train people to leadership positions within Australia and New Zealand. The Triratna Buddhist Order (formerly the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order) ordains the majority of its Order members in Europe and India, but its New Zealand and Australian membership often pool resources to run regional ordination retreats. Nagasuri details some of these retreats for Australasian women that have been held in New Zealand in recent years in her discussion of women's ordination in Triratna, highlighting the effect of having local opportunities for ordination.[31]

Localising Buddhism

Scholars have identified a number of characteristics of the localizations of Buddhism to Australia and New Zealand.[32] Rocha and Barker's recent publication on Buddhism in Australia combines both academic analyses and community contributions to understanding the contemporary Buddhist situation in Australia. In their introduction, Barker and Rocha identify characteristics of Buddhism in Australia that include democratization, laicization, feminism, and social engagement. These are evident in both how organizations are structured and the Buddhist practices engaged in. The growth of Engaged Buddhism in Australia is a prime example of social engagement. Bucknell identifies the start of Engaged Buddhism in Australia in approximately 1990,[33] and has grown to the stage where conferences and publications focus explicitly on the topic. Sherwood's book on Engaged Buddhism in Australia examines nine areas: education of adults and children, working with the sick and dying in the community and in hospitals and hospices, working in drug rehabilitation, in prisons and with the poor, speaking up for the oppressed, and working for non-human sentient beings.[34]

Engaged Buddhism is a particularly strong example of how Buddhism affects the society in which it is situated more broadly. There are a growing number of Buddhist organizations with a very strongly engaged focus, such as the Loving Kindness Peaceful Youth. This is an Australian Buddhist organization with an international interfaith focus. Loving Kindness Peaceful Youth is based on Essential Education, an initiative of The Foundation for Developing Compassion and Wisdom, which is part of Lama Thubten Yeshe's vision for the FPMT. Other examples of Engaged Buddhism in Australian include Buddhist businesses that support right livelihood. The Triratna Buddhist Order operates a number of team based right livelihood business in Australia, including Windhorse Books, which has been operating since 1995 and is a distributor of books, primarily Buddhist titles, to the book industry in Australia and New Zealand. Alongside Bodhi Books and the Green Elephant, a second-hand shop that raises funds for ex-

untouchable women's right livelihood projects in India, these ventures provide support to a number of monastics.

In New Zealand, a well-known example of engaged Buddhism is the Amitabha Hospice. It was founded in 1995 by Ecie Hursthouse, a student of Lama Yeshe (the late founder of the FPMT in Auckland, and part of the FPMT, which trains hospice workers to help the terminally ill and their families with such things as at-home respite care. Tzu Chi, the Taiwanese-based Buddhist international aid organisation, also has Australian and New Zealand chapters. Other examples happen beneath the radar. For instance, a monk from Wat Yarnprateep, a Thai temple in the Auckland suburb of Kelston, told McAra in 2010 that he had taught mindfulness meditation at the local secondary school, as part of a program to address the problem of bullying.

In a few locales, Buddhist material culture is gradually changing the landscape of Australia and New Zealand. These changes range from spectacular examples such as Tang Dynasty-style temples (the Taiwanese organisation Fokuangshan's grand temples in Wollongong, New South Wales, and in south Auckland, New Zealand) to suburban houses adapted to serve as small temples, and inconspicuous rural retreats. The Great Stupa of Universal Compassion will make a particularly spectacular sight: a replica of a fourteenth-century, elaborate, multi-storey Tibetan-style stupa in Gyantse is planned to one day rise above the trees in country near Bendigo in Victoria, Australia. The Jade Buddha for Universal Peace is another interesting example, associated with the Great Stupa project. Made from Canadian jade, the statue stands 2.7 meters high and weighs four tonnes; it is currently touring the world. The website promoting the statue says that the purpose of touring the Jade Buddha is to provide people of all nationalities and religions to "take a moment to reflect upon peace"[35]. At some future date, this statue will be installed either in or near the Great Stupa.

Several organisations support Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand. The Federation of Australian Buddhist Councils represents Buddhism in Australia at a national level, in conjunction with the Australian Sangha Association. The Federation of Australian Buddhist Councils represents more than 200 Buddhist temples and organizations across the country. The Federation of Australian Buddhist Councils develops and promotes Buddhism in Australia and represents Australian Buddhists to national and international forums. The Federation of Australian Buddhist Councils has been particularly active in working to obtain official recognition of Buddhism as a religion in Australia.[36]

Additionally, the Australian Sangha Association is the main organization representing ordained Buddhist Australians. It provides a range of services including an annual conference to support dialogue and understanding among monastics of different traditions. A particularly interesting development has been their establishment of a Sangha Welfare Fund for supporting monks and nuns in Australia who are in need of short-term assistance. It has long been acknowledge that the traditional sangha faces difficulties in gaining financial support in Western communities, and many monastics in

Australia fund their vocations privately. The Sangha Welfare Fund aims to assist members of the Australian Sangha Association on this issue.

The Federation of Australian Buddhist Councils and the Australian Sangha Association represent Buddhism in forums such as the Australian Partnership of Religious Organizations, whose aims include providing advice to government, and promoting and advocating for community harmony, inter-ethnic and inter-faith acceptance. They are also involved in a range of other interfaith activities. Another organization of note is the Australasian Association of Buddhist Studies, which aims to promote the academic study of Buddhism in the Australasian region (Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea and the Pacific Islands).[37] Another active organization is the Australian Association of Buddhist Counsellors and Psychotherapists (AABCAP), which provides a forum for therapists to dialogue on psychotherapy and Buddhism, with the purpose of integrating their experience and knowledge into daily life and their work. The AABCAP has developed a two-year professional training course in Buddhism and Psychotherapy which commenced in 2008. The course is taught by staff including psychiatrists, psychologist and psychotherapists, in tandem with Buddhist monastics and meditation teachers. The AABCAP's 2011 conference is focused on exploring "the recent evidence-based scientific validations initiated by leading Buddhist teachers which confirm the efficacy for health and well-being of core Buddhist teachings and practices".[38]

The New Zealand Buddhist Council, established in 2007, is an umbrella body representing Buddhists in New Zealand. It has sixteen member organizations and sends a newsletter to an extensive email list. Among other things, it aims to "create respectful relationships among Buddhist communities and between Buddhist and other communities in order to develop a harmonious and peaceful New Zealand", and works on issues of common concern, such as seeking policy change in relation to immigration requirements for monastics.[39] In 2010, members of the New Zealand Buddhist Council executive took a special edition of the Dhammapada, with parallel text in English, Pali and Chinese (the latter to represent the first Buddhists in New Zealand), to a number of Buddhist temples and centres around New Zealand. Those who received it acknowledged it in some way, e.g. by placing it on their altar during a chanting service, or performing a blessing. This book was bound in a recycled native timber cover and then presented to Parliament on 12 July 2010, in a ceremony that included representatives of the Muslim, Baha'i and Catholic communities. Members of Parliament who are Buddhist can take their oath of allegiance using this text.[40]

Buddhists are forging new ground in Australia and New Zealand in their engagement with indigenous issues. For example, McAra examines the relationship between an FPMT group in rural Australia and the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land, exploring how the FPMT sought to acknowledge and accommodate the original owners.[41] From another angle, Barzaghi provides some interesting insights into "the discovery of resonances between Zen and Australian indigenous wisdom traditions."[42] She discusses the relationships that the Sydney Zen Centre has forged with indigenous Australian traditions, identifying an important insight as being that sharing of the wisdom of interconnectedness between Zen Buddhism and indigenous spirituality.[43]

Kolig's research provides another example. Kolig's article about the Dhargyey Buddhist Centre in Dunedin discusses how the Buddhist group negotiated issues such as planning law to construct a very visible monument in a prominent place on a hill in open countryside, "visibly ... [embodying] the presence of Buddhist ideology in a landscape where it appears alien and non-rooted".[44] Kolig finds the stupa project significant for two reasons. First, because although stupas are designed to be seen from afar, local planning consent was granted on the condition that native vegetation be planted around it to mitigate its "alien" appearance.[45] Second, because the Tibetan Buddhist site-consecration ritual included not only a visit and blessing by the Dalai Lama, but also representatives from Ngai Tahu (the local Maori tribe), who offered a formal welcome according to customary etiquette, albeit with the traditional challenge omitted.[46] This incorporation of indigenous ceremony with that of the Buddhism is becoming more common in Australia and New Zealand.[47]

Conclusion

Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand is a vibrant, growing landscape, as diverse as the geographies of the two countries. Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand shares many characteristics of Buddhism in other Western countries. However, as the types of Buddhist teachers and organisations that exist, and their roles both internally and within the wider society, continues to branch out in many directions, taking Buddhism in new and interesting directions. Linkages with indigenous spirituality in both countries is one area of interest, and further research may illuminate more interesting divergences.

REFERENCES

Abeyagunawardena, D. S. (2009) 'Buddhists', in J. Jupp (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of Religion in Australia,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 198-213.

Adam, E., and Hughes, P. (1996) *The Buddhists in Australia*, Religious Community Profiles series. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Australian Association of Buddhist Counsellors and Psychotherapists (n.d.) "Events." Online. Available HTML < www.buddhismandpsychotherapy.org/events.htm > (accessed 2 January 2011).

Barker, M., and Rocha, C. (2010) "Introduction", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 1-20.

Barzaghi, S. (2010) "The journey of a female lay Zen teacher: 'On a withered tree a flower blooms'", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 124-133.

Baumann, M. (2002) "Protective amulets and awareness techniques, or How to make sense of Buddhism in the West", in Prebish, C. S. and Baumann, M. (eds.),

Westward Dharma: Buddhism Beyond Asia. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press: 51-65.

Bubna-Litic, D., and Higgins, W. (2007) "The Emergence of Secular Insight Practice in Australia", *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 8: 157-173.

Broadhurst, C. (2008) "Designing a Tibetan temple for Auckland", *Times Online*, 3 April 2008. Online. Available <www.times.co.nz/cms/news/2008/04/art100019824.php> (accessed 2 January 2011).

Bucknell, R. S. (2000) 'Engaged Buddhism in Australia', in Queen, C. (ed.) *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, Boulder: Wisdom: 468-481.

Cousens, D. (2010) "The Buddhist Council of Victoria and the challenges of recognising Buddhism as a religion in Australia", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 157-161.

Croucher, P. (1989) *Buddhism in Australia 1848-1988*, Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press.

Huang, Li Ting (2009) "Teaching Buddhism in New Zealand Universities;" Master of Education thesis, Auckland University of Technology. Online. Available HTML <hdl.handle.net/10292/779> (accessed 21 January 2011).

Jade Buddha for Universal Peace (n.d.) Online. Available HTML <www.jadebuddha.org.au/en> (accessed 25 January 2011).

Kemp, H. (2007) "How the Dharma Landed: Interpreting the Arrival of Buddhism in New Zealand", *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 8: 107-131.

Kemp, H. (2008) "Taking up the Practice: Conversion and Buddhist Identity if New Zealand." PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington. Online. Available HTML <hdl.handle.net/10063/914> (accessed 2 January 2011).

Kolig, E. (1997). Recycling Charisma and the Sacralisation of the Landscape: A Buddhist Stupa in Dunedin, New Zealand. *Baessler Archiv: Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, 45, 201-221. Gestern und Heute - Traditionen in der Südsee: Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Gerd Koch.

Liev, M. H. (2008) *Adaptation of Cambodians in New Zealand: Achievement, cultural identity and community development*. PhD thesis, Centre for Development Studies, University of Auckland. Online. Available HTML <hdl.handle.net/2292/3362> (accessed 21 January 2011).

Manukau Courier (2008). "Buddhist sanctuary in heart of our city." 5 September 2008. Online. Available HTML <www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/manukau-courier/614014> (accessed 2 January 2011).

McAra, S. (2009) 'A "stupendous attraction": Materialising a Tibetan Buddhist contact zone in rural Australia', PhD thesis, University of Auckland. Online. Available HTML <hdl.handle.net/2292/5234> (accessed 21 January 2011).

McAra, S. (2007a) 'Indigenizing or Adapting? Importing Buddhism into a settler-colonial society', *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 8: 132-156. Online. Available HTML <http://www.globalbuddhism.org/8/mcara07.htm> (accessed 21 January 2011).

McAra, S. (2007b) *Land of Beautiful Vision: Making a Buddhist Sacred Place in New Zealand.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

McMahan, D. L. (2008). *The making of Buddhist modernism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Nagasuri (2010). "Ordaining Women in Australia", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 119-123.

New Zealand Buddhist Council (n.d.) Online. Available HTML <www.buddhistcouncil.org.nz > (accessed 2 January 2011).

New Zealand Buddhist Council (2010) "Email Newsletter", no. 2. Online. Available HTML <www.buddhistcouncil.org.nz > (accessed 2 January 2011).

Rocha, C., and Barker, M. (eds.) (2010) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London.

Santi Forest Monastery (n.d.) Online. Available HTML <santifm.org/santi > (accessed 20 January 2011).

Sherwood, P. (2003) *The Buddha in the Street: Engaged Buddhism in Australia*, Bunbury: Edith Cowan University.

Skennar, J. (2010) "Sydney, a city growing within: The establishment of Buddhist centres in Western Sydney", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 86-94.

Spuler, M. (2000) 'Characteristics of Buddhism in Australia', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 15 (1): 29-44.

Spuler, M. (2002) 'The Development of Buddhism in Australia and New Zealand', in C. Prebish and M. Baumann (eds.) *Westward Dharma: Buddhism beyond Asia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 139-151.

* Thich Thong Phap (2010) "A Life of High Adventure: Integrating the monk and the pastor", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: *

Van Esterik, P. (1999). "Ritual and performance of Buddhist identity among Lao Buddhists in North America", in Williams, D. R., and Queen, C. (eds.), *American Buddhism: Methods and findings in recent scholarship*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon: 57-68.

Vasi, S. (2008) *Feasibility Study and Needs Analysis for the Cambodian Community in Victoria,* Melbourne: Cambodian Buddhist Association of Victoria.

Vasi, S. (2005) 'Profile and Contribution of Buddhists in Australia'. Online. Available HTML <www.bcvic.org.au/pdf/profile_and_contribution_0f_buddhists_in_vic.pdf> (accessed 2 January 2007).

Vasi, S. (2010) "Adaptation and continuity in Cambodian Buddhist temples: Implications for service delivery and community development", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 95-104.

Waitt, G. (2010) "Locating a Buddhist temple in Wollongong, New South Wales", in Rocha, C. and Barker, M. (eds.) *Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change*, Routledge: London: 74-85.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr Michelle Barker is the co-editor (with Cristina Rocha) of Buddhism in Australia: Traditions in Change (Routledge 2010), author of *Developments in Australian Buddhism: Facets of the Diamond* (Routledge, 2003) and a former editor of the *Journal of Global Buddhism*. She has held lecturing positions at universities internationally. Her research interests continue to focus on the growth of Buddhism in Australia in a globalized age.

Dr Sally McAra is the author of *Land of Beautiful Vision: Making a Buddhist Sacred Place in New Zealand* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). Her doctorate (2009) investigated a Tibetan Buddhist stupa project in Victoria, Australia. Her research interests centre on the intersection of religious practice and material culture, particularly the ways Buddhism is changing the landscapes of Australia and New Zealand. She is also a student of Zen and secretary of the New Zealand Buddhist Council.

---

1 McAra 2009, pp.221-22.

2 McAra 2002, fieldnotes.

3 Croucher 1989. See also Rocha and Barker 2010, Abeyagunawardena 2009, Spuler 2002, and Adam and Hughes 2006, Vasi 2005 also provides information on the state of Victoria. Also noteworthy is the 2007 edition of the *Journal of Global Buddhism*, a special issue on Buddhism in Oceania.

[4] Spuler 2000.
[5] See also Spuler 2002.
[6] Kemp 2007.
[7] Kemp 2007.
[8] Kemp 2007.
[9] Rocha and Barker 2010, p.8.
[10] Kemp 2008, p.69.
[11] Barker and Rocha 2010, p.12.
[12] Barker and Rocha 2010, p.3
[13] Kemp 2007.
[14] Kemp *
[15] McAra 2009, p.150.
[16] Kemp *
[17] The groups discussed here could also be analysed in terms of the extent to which their practices and teachings tend more towards the traditionalist or modernist in their approach; see for example Baumann 2002, see also McMahan 2008 for an analysis of modernist Buddhism.
[18] Liev 2008.
[19] Liev 2008, p.260. The role of Buddhism in addressing refugee issues such as trauma and bereavement, in addition to homesickness, has been noted elsewhere. Van Esterik (1999), an anthropologist who specializes in Southeast Asian communities at home and in diaspora, attended water-pouring rituals in Lao temples in Toronto and in Vientiane. This ritual of making merit and transferring it to the deceased "is a metaphor of loss and death" which, for North American-based Lao Buddhists, "helps bridge the distance between Laos and North America, past and present, old and new responsibilities" (p.63). The ritual "is particularly poignant for refugees who may have left their parents behind" in contrast to the same ritual in Vientiane, where, she says there was far less emotional intensity.
[20] Liev 2008, p.263. However, as Liev notes, factions emerged once people began investing time and resources in establishing temples (2008, pp.287-320).
[21] Vasi 2008, p.90 and Vasi 2010.
[22] Barker and Rocha 2010, pp.4-7.
[23] McAra 2007a, Skennar 2010, Waitt 2010.
[24] See also McMahan 2008.
[25] Baumann 2002, p.59.
[26] See McAra 2009.
[27] Kolig 1997.
[28] Bubna-Litic and Higgins 2010.
[29] Santi Forest Monastery (n.d.)
[30] *Manukau Courier* 2008 and Broadhurst 2008.
[31] Nagasuri 2010, pp.120-1.
[32] Spuler 2002, Spuler 2000, Barker and Rocha 2010, 10-14.
[33] Bucknell 2000, p.468.
[34] Sherwood 2003.
[35] Jade Buddha for Universal Peace (n.d.)

[36] Cousens 2010.

[37] Huang's research on teaching Buddhism in New Zealand provides a good overview on the teaching of Buddhist Studies in both New Zealand and Australian universities (2009).

[38] Australian Association of Buddhist Counsellors and Psychotherapists, n.d.

[39] New Zealand Buddhist Council, n.d.

[40] New Zealand Buddhist Council 2010.

[41] McAra (2007a) also investigates how attempts at "indigenization" can be problematic in a settler-colonial society, because it entails treading appropriating "indigenous" ground – literally the land itself, but also the concepts, such as songlines.

[42] Barzaghi 2010, p.130.

[43] Barzaghi 2010, pp.130-32.

[44] Kolig 1997, p.216.

[45] Kolig 1997, pp.216-17.

[46] Kolig 1997, pp.214-15.

[47] See also McAra 2007a and 2007b.